

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 LISBON 04611 01 OF 02 241316Z

43

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 ISO-00 IO-04 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05

L-01 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAM-01 EB-04 COME-00 TRSE-00 AGR-05 CIEP-01

SIL-01 LAB-01 NIC-01 /076 W
----- 106059

R 241209Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0843

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

USMISSION NATO

USCINCEUR

DIA

AMCONSUL OPORTO

AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 4611

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT PO

SUBJ: SPECIAL PCP CONGRESS APPROVES "EMERGENCY PLATFORM"

REF: FBIS LONDON A) 210009Z; B) 210330Z; C) 210402Z

D) 210222Z

SUMMARY: SPECIAL CONGRESS OF PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY
(PCP) HAS APPROVED "EMERGENCY PROGRAM" ADVOCATING DEFENSE
OF LIBERTIES AND REINFORCEMENT OF PORTUGUESE DEMOCRACY,
CONTINUATION OF DECOLONIZATION AND, IN EFFECT, ADVANCEMENT
OF A PORTUGUESE VERSION OF LENIN'S "NEW ECONOMIC POLICY" OF 1921.
PCP SECRETARY GENERAL CUNHAL SPOKE OF IMPEDIMENT THAT GENERAL
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 LISBON 04611 01 OF 02 241316Z

SPINOLA REPRESENTED FOR DEVELOPMENT OF PORTUGUESE DEMOCRACY. CUNHAL

ALSO DWELT AT LENGTH ON PROGRAM'S EXPURGATION OF SLOGAN "DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT" FROM THE CONVENTIONAL LITANY, SINCE IT CAN BE TOO EASILY MISCONSTRUED FOLLOWING YEARS OF DICTATORSHIP FROM A DIFFERENT QUARTER. CUNHAL WARNED THAT THERE COULD BE NO BARRIERS WITHIN THE PARTY LEADERSHIP BETWEEN PRE-APRIL 25 (CLANDESTINE) MILITANTS AND THOSE WHO HAVE EMERGED SINCE. STATISTICS WERE ISSUED ON COMPOSITION OF CONGRESS DELEGATES AND PARTY MEMBERSHIP, AND FULL COMPOSITION OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE WAS REVEALED FOR FIRST TIME. LISBON PRESS ACCOUNTS SUGGEST THAT MANY CONGRESS DELEGATES WERE UNHAPPY WITH THE BANNING OF SLOGAN ON DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT. DO SCINTENT WITHIN RANKS MAY ALSO STEM FROM EMERGENCY PROGRAM'S EMPHASIS ON STRENGTHENING NATIONAL ECONOMY AND ACHIEVING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM, RATHER THAN DENUNCIATION OF SOCIAL EVILS AND INEQUALITIES INHERITED FROM THE DISCRETIED PAST. END SUMMARY.

1. IN OPEN MEETING ATTEND BY 7000 PERSONS (1000 BEING ELECTED DELEGATES) PCP ADOPTED ON OCTOBER 20 AN "EMERGENCY PLATFORM" DRAFTED BY LEADERSHIP AND PRESENTED TO MEMBERS FOR GUIDANCE IN FURTHERING PARTY GOALS IN POST-APRIL 25 PORTUGAL.

2. STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY
PROGRAM'S CALL FOR STRENGTHENING OF DEMOCRACY HAS TWO ASPECTS: REINFORCING INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES WON IN PRINCIPLE AFTER APRIL 25 AND NOT YET LEGALLY FORMALIZED AND REINFORCING THE STATE APPARATUS, NOTABLY THROUGH "SANEAMENTO" (PURGING) OF ELEMENTS LINKED TO OLD REGIME AND ASSURING THAT MILITARY AND POLICE UNITS WIND U UNDER CONTROL OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES. PROGRAM ALSO CALLS FOR PROHIBITION OF ANTI-DEMOCRATIC THREATS FROM FASCISTS AND REACTIONARIES AND PUNISHMENT OF THOSE GUILTY OF ACTS OF ECONOMIC SABORAGE. (COMMENT: PCP CONSIDERS IT IS NOT JUST ECONOMIC MONOPOLIES AND TRADITIONAL LANDHOLDERS WHO ARE ENGAGING IN ECONOMIC SABOTAGE, BUT ALSO THOSE ON THE FAR LEFT WHO HAVE BEEN FOMENTING ECONOMIC UNREST AND STRIKES).

3. DECOLONIZATION
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 LISBON 04611 01 OF 02 241316Z

REFERRING TO MACAU, PCP SMUGLY CALLED FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PRC TO ASSURE ITS "INTEGRATION INTO CHINA" WITH EVENTUAL AGREEMENT FOR SAFEGUARDING OF PORTUGUESE HISTORIC AND CULTURAL PRESENCE.

4. ECONOMIC POLICY
ECONOMIC CHAOS WOULD BRING JOY TO THOSE WHO LOOK FOR THE DOWNFALL OF PORTUGUESE DEMOCRACY. PCP THEREFORE CALLS FOR

STRENGTHENING ECONOMY BY COMBINATION OF MEASURES INCLUDING DECREASED STATE EXPENDITURES IN NON-ESSENTIAL SECTORS, INCREASED GOVERNMENT REVENUES (ESPECIALLY BY MEANS OF PROGRESSIVE TAXES WHICH HIT BIG FELLOWS HARDER IN ORDER TO LET LITTLE FELLOWS IN COMMERCE, INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE GET BY EASIER) AND TAXES ON RENTS AND CAPITAL WHICH ARE NOT REINVESTED. STATE CREDITS AND OTHER FORMS OF ASSISTANCE TO ENTERPRISES -- SMALL AND LARGE -- WHICH CONTRIBUTE POSITIVELY TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, INCREASED PRODUCTION AND CREATION OF JOBS ALSO CALLED FOR, ALONG WITH STATE AID FOR SMALL AND MEDIUM SCALE FARMERS. PENALTIES URGED FOR LARGE AND ABSENT LANDHOLDERS WHO LEAVE HOLDINGS UNCULTIVATED. ECONOMIC SECTION ALSO CALLS FOR "WELCOME" AGREEMENTS WITH COMMON MARKET, PARALLELING AGREEMENTS WITH EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AIMED AT EXPANDING COMMERCE, AND "PERIODIC" SALARY INCREASES TO KEEP STEP WITH RISES IN COST OF LIVING.

5. CUNHAL REVIEWS THREAT FROM REACTIONARY FORCES REVIEWING POST-APRIL 25 DEVELOPMENTS, PARTY SECRETARY GENERAL CUNHAL FOCUSED ON CONTINUING CONFLICT BETWEEN GENERAL SPINOLA AND CONSERVATIVE FORCES WHICH TENDED TO CENTER AROUND HIM VERSUS DEMOCRATIC FORCES WHICH CENTERED AROUND ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT. SPINOLA AND THREE OTHER DISMISSED JUNTA MEMBERS HAD HAMPERED DECOLONIZATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESSES. FIRST CONSPIRATORIAL ATTEMPT BY CONSERVATIVES TO SABOTAGE DECOLONIZATION/DEMOCRATIZATION WAS THE PALMA CARLOS AFFAIR, AIMED AT AGGRANDIZING PRESIDENT'S POWERS. "SILENT MAJORITY" DEMONSTRATION WAS THE SECOND. IN EACH CASE, GROUNDWORK FOR ACCOMPLISHING COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY AIMS WAS LAID BY MEANS OF ARTIFICALLY STIMULATED SOCIAL AGITATION, BY SO-CALLED "STRIKES" TAKING PLACE WITHOUT JUST CAUSE, BY STREET DISORDERS PROVOKED BY FASCISTS AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 LISBON 04611 01 OF 02 241316Z

FAR LEFTISTS. CUNHAL IN PARTICULAR CONDEMNED STRIKING TAP WORKERS WHO, ON SEPT 27, SOUGHT TO STIMULATE LACK OF PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN TAP FLIGHTS FOR REASON OF LABOR DIFFICULTIES THEY HAVE FOMENTED.

6. "DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT" DROPPED
CUNHAL EXPLAINED WHO SLOGAN "DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT" WAS BEING DROPPED FROM AN OFFICIAL PARTY TEXT.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 LISBON 04611 02 OF 02 241333Z

53

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 ISO-00 IO-04 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05

L-01 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAM-01 EB-04 COME-00 TRSE-00 AGR-05 CIEP-01

SIL-01 LAB-01 NIC-01 /076 W
----- 106202

R 241209Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0844

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

USMISSION NATO

USCINCEUR

DIA

AMCONSUL OPORTO

AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 4611

THE TIMES BEING WHAT THEY ARE, THIS PHRASE IS SUBJECT TO DELIBERATE MISINTERPRETATION. IN MARXIST TERMINOLOGY, "DICTATORSHIP" MEANS THE FORCE OR PREDOMINATION OF A CLASS OR CLASSES. THE MOST FREE OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACIES IS (BY DEFINITION) A DICTATORSHIP OF THE BOURGEOISIE. A DICTATORSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS, IN WHICH WORKERS AND THEIR ALLIES HOLD POWER, CAN TAKE MANY FORMS. IT CAN BE MULTI-PARTY. KEY DIFFERENCE IS THAT DICTATORSHIP BY WORKERS IS MORE DEMOCRATIC THAN THE MOST DEMOCRATIC OF BOURGEOIS FORMS. CIRCUMSTANCES IN PORTUGAL (IN WHICH TERM DICTATORSHIP IS COMMONLY USED TO REFER TO 50 YEARS OF FASCISM) DO NOT LEND THEMSELVES TO READY COMPREHENSION OF WHAT THE PARTY HAS IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 LISBON 04611 02 OF 02 241333Z

MIND, AND CONSEQUENT USE OF SLOGAN DOES NOT HELP PARTY'S

INTERESTS. CUNHAL EMPHASIZED THAT DROPPING OF SLOGAN DOES NOT MEAN ANY CHANGE WHATEVER IN PCP DOCTRINE.

7. PARTY DISCIPLINE

IN OUTLINING EMERGENCY PLATFORM'S OBJECTIVES CUNHAL EXPRESSED "CONVICTION" THAT PCP MEMBERS WOULD DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ENABLE PARTY TO MEET ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. STRESSING PARTY'S INTERNALLY DEMOCRATIC NATURE, GUARANTEEING THAT IT WOULD BE WHAT ITS MEMBERS WISHED IT TO BE, HE WARNED THAT DIVISIONS BETWEEN PRE AND POST-APRIL 25 LEADERS COULD NOT BE PERMITTED, THAT ALL HAD EQUAL RIGHTS.

8. CONGRESS AND PARTY STATISTICS

IN SEEMINGLY DELIBERATE ATTEMPT NOT TO PORTRAY PCP AS STANDING ON VERGE OF HAVING DECISIVE POLITICAL POWER, CUNHAL MIXED STATEMENTS AFFIRMING PARTY GROWTH WITH ONES AFFIRMING DIFFICULTY. HE MADE NO CLAIMS REGARDING PCP'S STRENGTH RELATIVE TO OTHER PARTIES. FOR FIRST TIME PCP DISCLOSED NAMES OF ITS CENTRAL COMMITTEE (REF D). CUNHAL SAID PCP'S ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP "DOUBLED" BETWEEN JUNE-SEPT 1974, WITH HALF THE MEMBERS WORKERS. AS FOR CONGRESS DELEGATES, 51.5 PERCENT CAME FROM "WORKING CLASS", 23.8 PERCENT WHITE COLLAR WORKERS, 12 PERCENT INTELLECTUALS, TWO PERCENT PEASANTS AND 5.4 PERCENT STUDENTS. WOMEN COMPOSED 12.5 PERCENT. AGE-WISE, 45.8 PERCENT OF DELEGATES WERE UNDER 30, 21.2 PERCENT BETWEEN 30-40, 17.3 PERCENT BETWEEN 40-50, AND 5.9 PERCENT OVER 50. (COMMENT: NO EXPLANATION WAS PROVIDED FOR FAILURE OF THESE SETS OF FIGURES TO TOTAL 100 PERCENT).

9. COMMENT: THE CONGRESS PRESENTED A PREDICTABLE FACADE OF PARTY UNITY, ALL VOTES BEING TAKEN BY TRADITIONAL (99 PERCENT) MAJORITIES. HOWEVER, CUNHAL'S REFERENCE TO DIVISIONS AMONG THE LEADERSHIP HAVING NO PLACE AND HIS ASSURANCE THAT ALL MEMBERS WOULD KNOW HOT TO TOE THE REINTERPRETED LINE RECALL HIS RECENT REFERENCE TO SMOKE, FIRE AND THE CIA. DISCONTENT WITH DESANCTIFICATION OF DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT AS A WATCHWORD PLAINLY DID NOT GO DOWN WELL WITH SOME CONGRESS DELEGATES. MORE IMPORTANT IS QUESTION OF HOW SUCCESSFUL PCP LEADERSHIP WILL BE IN HOLDING ITS MEMBERS' WORDS AND DEEDS TO A POLITICO-ECONOMIC POLICY MORE CLOSELY RELATED TO FDR'S NEW DEAL THAN TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 LISBON 04611 02 OF 02 241333Z

MARXIST-LENINIST CONCEPT OF CLASS STRUGGLE. IN CONTEMPORARY PORTUGAL, PCP IS ATTEMPTING TO MARCH SHOULDER, CHEEK AND JOWL IN STEP WITH DEMOCRATIC FORCES; IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER OR NOT IT CAN AFFORD TO DO SO WITHOUT CASTING AN OCCASIONAL DISTURBED GAZE AT THE NON-"RESPONSIBLE" FORCES THAT COULD GATHER BEHIND ITS BACK.

10. THE PARTY IS FOLLOWING A CLEVER LINE DESIGNED TO ENSURE ITS

ACHIEVEMENT OF LEGITIMACY AND RESPECTABILITY IN NEW PORTUGAL.
AS FAR AS LONG-RUN US INTERESTS ARE CONCERNED, THIS IS
PROBABLY THE MOST DANGEROUS TACTIC THE PCP COULD UNDERTAKE.
SCOTT

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY LINE, POLITICAL PARTIES, POLITICAL SITUATION, COMMUNISTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 OCT 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: shawdg
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974LISBON04611
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740304-0125
From: LISBON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741020/aaaaaquh.tel
Line Count: 281
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: FBIS LONDON A) 210009Z; B) 210330Z; C) 210402Z
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: shawdg
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01 MAY 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <11 MAR 2003 by shawdg>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SPECIAL PCP CONGRESS APPROVES "EMERGENCY PLATFORM"
TAGS: PINT, PO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005